

THE RESTITUTION OF THE TRUE CROSS IN
THE 10TH CENTURY ARMENIAN SOURCES AND
ITS DEPICTION IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE

by

ZARUHI HAKOBYAN

YSU, Chair of Armenian Art History and Theory

Armenian sources of the 10th century provide much valuable information not only of their period but also for previous centuries, particularly concerning the events that have greatly marked the history of the country. One such event was the Persian campaign of the emperor Heraclius and the ensuing Restitution of the True Cross to Jerusalem, which is mentioned by such 10th-century authors as Yovhannēs Drasxanakērtc'i, Pseudo-Shapuh Bagratuni, Stepanos Taronat'si and Movses Dasxurant'ci. These authors not only retell events of the past as described in the old sources, but also make significant additions, which enhance our understanding of the historical and cultural atmosphere of the time. In some cases, they throw light on specific details of iconographical monuments, which will concern us below.

The 7th century, one of the brightest periods in the history of Armenian art and culture, also marks a highpoint in political and cultural relations between Armenia and Byzantium. Thus, in the aftermath of Heraclius' campaigns, we observe close interaction between the traditions of the imperial and Transcaucasian architecture, which produced most striking examples in Armenia¹. These close cultural relations are notably exemplified in sculptural monuments, such as the relief compositions decorating the entrance of Mren church.

¹ See most recently: A. Ghazaryan, *Архитектура стран Закавказья VII в.: формирование и развитие традиции* (Architecture of Transcaucasian Countries in the 7th Century: Formation and Development of Tradition), Doct. Dissertation. Moscow, 2007, p. 2-57; P. Donabédian, *La premier âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne: le VII^e siècle*, Ankara, 2007, p. 29-60; P. Donabédian, *L'âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne VII^e siècle*, Marseille, 2008, p. 5-336; A. Ghazaryan, *The Classical Tradition of the 7th century Architecture in Armenia and Georgia: Its Meaning for East-Christian Art*, Ankara, 2009, p. 25-50.

Mren church, built on the right bank of the Akhourian gorge (now in Turkey), is dated by a dedicatory inscription to 639-640². Its two entrances, on the western and northern sides, are decorated with multi-figure reliefs. A large composition on the western portal represents the archangels, Christ with the Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as the church founders: bishop T'ēovp'īlos, Dawit' Saharuni and Nerseh Kamsarakan. This relief, with its highly expressive Byzantine iconographic orientation, is the earliest donor composition in Transcaucasia³.

In the context of this study, however, we should rather turn to the relief composition of the northern portal. Conventionally called “the adoration of the Cross”, it consists of three figures depicted on the lintel above the entrance. The person on the left, who has evidently just dismounted, wears secular garb, a cleric depicted on the right against the background of a symbolic Tree of Life holds a censer, while the person in the center erects across. Scholars have pointed out that Mren composition lacks an exact analogue in Christian iconography and have interpreted it in different ways. Thus, B. Arak'elyan views it as a funeral procession⁴, M. Sargsyan and S. Der Nersessian as a scene of laying the foundations of the church⁵, while for L. Azaryan and S. Mnatsak'anyan, the scene refers to the act of adopting Christian faith⁶. The most plausible interpretation of the Mren relief is that of N. Thierry, who related this scene of the Exaltation of the Cross to the Restitution of the True Cross to Jerusalem by emperor Heraclius⁷.

The scene depicted on the northern portal of Mren has long been considered unique, a *hapax* in S. Der Nersessian's term⁸. Now, however, the newly “discovered” slab from Kołb reveals an analogous composition.

² I. Orbeli, “Багаванская надпись 639 г. и другие армянские ктиторские надписи VII в. (Bagavan inscription of 639 and the other Dedicatory Inscriptions of the 7th century)”, Orbeli I. *Selectas*, Erévan, 1963, p. 371-404, see p. 386, 395-401.

³ J.-M. et N. Thierry, “La Cathédrale de Mren et sa décoration”, *Cahiers archéologiques* 21, 1971, p. 43-77, see p. 74.

⁴ B. Arak'elyan, “Հայկական պատկերաքանդակը 4-7-րդ դարերում (Armenian sculpture images of the 4th-7th centuries)”, Erévan, 1949, p. 3-177, see p. 70-71.

⁵ M. Sargsyan, “Մրենի տաճարի Հիմնադիրների պատկերաքանդակները (The Bas-Reliefs of the Founders of the Church of Mren)”, *Patma-Banasirakan Handēs*, 4, 1966, p. 241-250, see p. 245-250; S. Der Nersessian, *L'art arménien*, Paris, 1989, p. 5-255, see p. 56.

⁶ L. Azaryan, “Վաղ միջնադարյան Հայկական քանդակը (Early Medieval Armenian Sculpture)”, Erévan, 1975, p. 5-368, see p. 63; S. Mnatsak'anyan, “Предания о распространении христианства в скульптуре средневековой Армении (Stories about the Dissemination of Christianity on the Medieval Armenian Sculpture)”, Erévan, 1982, p. 372-373, see p. 372-373.

⁷ J.-M. et N. Thierry (cited n. 3), p. 69-75.

⁸ S. Der Nersessian (cited n. 5), p. 57.

This rectangular slab once decorated the entrance to the church in the village of Kołb, in northern Armenia, which is well known from medieval sources. In the 13th century, this relief was inserted into the wall of a church, which was probably built in the place of the old decayed building. The Kołb relief was vaguely dated to the 5th-6th centuries⁹ and it was not, until recently, compared with the Mren composition¹⁰.

In the Kołb relief, a large Cross is situated in the center, with three figures approaching it from the left and a stylized palm-tree with ripe fruit and large lilies below depicted on the right. Thus, the lintels of Mren and Kołb coincide not only in general compositional setting, but also in such details as the number of figures depicted, the Holy Cross, which is worshipped, and a symbolic Tree. These peculiarities support the interpretation of the scene as the Restitution of the True Cross to Jerusalem in both Mren and Kołb, and lead to re-dating the Kołb relief to the 640's¹¹.

The Cross is the compositional and semantic center of the scene in both Kołb and Mren. Besides, the two reliefs feature a tree: the Tree of Life at Mren, and a palm-tree at Kołb, both associated with the idea of Paradise¹² and the Triumph of Christ (palm-tree). This element is common in medieval art and finds direct analogues in early Christian monuments¹³. The symbolic lilies associated with the idea of immortality¹⁴ and the future Paradise enhance the imagery of the Garden of Eden in the relief at Kołb¹⁵.

⁹ L. Azaryan (cited n. 6), p. 42-43; H. Petrosyan, *Խաչքար. ծագումը, գործառույթը, պատկերազրույթը, իմաստաբանությունը* (Xač'k'ar: the Origins, Functions, Iconography, Semantics), Erévan, 2008, p. 36.

¹⁰ P. Donabédian (cited n. 1), p. 178. has pointed out the similarity of composition of both reliefs.

¹¹ Z. Hakobyan, “Կողբի բարախորի պատկերազրույթի և անոմալիաների ու թվազրույթի (Iconographic features and the datation of the Lintel from Kołb)”, *Etchmiadzin*, 12, 2010, p. 62-76, see p. 75-76.

¹² P. Donabédian, “Les Thèmes bibliques dans la sculpture arménienne préarabe”, *REArm* n. s. 22, 1990-1991, p. 254-314, see p. 278-279.

¹³ A symbolic True Cross similar to that of Mren appears on an inside capital of Bolnisi Sion (late 5th century) (Š. Amiranašvili, *История грузинского искусства* (The Story of Georgian Art). Moscow, 1963, pp. 7-460, see fig. 26 (b). For iconographic parallels of the palm-tree at Kołb, cf. two reliefs from Constantinople: a frieze fragment from the basilica of Theodosia II (415) (A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV^e-X^e siècles)*. Paris, 1963, p. 5-139, see pl. XV (1) and a capital from Anicia Juliana's church (first half of the 6th century), R. M. Harisson, *Temple for Byzantium. The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul*, Austin, 1989, p. 3-159, see fig. 66.

¹⁴ *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Band 3, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1971, p. 10-577, see p. 100-102.

¹⁵ L. Azaryan (cited n. 6), p. 42-43; P. Donabédian (cited n. 12), p. 277-279; H. Petrosyan (cited n. 9), p. 36, 38, 42.

The three figures both at Kolb and Mren are depicted as worshipping the Cross¹⁶. Strikingly, the figure depicted in both reliefs in the center, right by the cross, is smaller than the others, which seems to violate the canons of medieval art. T. T'oramanian noted this mismatching of scale of the figures depicted, but could only suggest that the small figure belonged to a child or a youth¹⁷. This iconographic peculiarity has recently been explained by Ch. Maranci (who follows for the rest N. Thierry's interpretation)¹⁸. In her work on the reliefs at Mren, she cites a Latin narrative of the Restitution of the True Cross to Jerusalem, which contains a peculiar detail. At the culmination of the triumphant return of the Cross, the gates of Jerusalem suddenly closed in front of Heraclius and only opened again when he changed his imperial garb for sackcloth. The emperor could only enter Jerusalem in submissive guise humble like Christ¹⁹. Ch. Maranci reproduces the only known composition with a similar plot — the miniature of the Mont Saint Michel *Sacramentarium* dated to 1060 (ms 641, fol.155v, New York, Pierpont Morgan lib.), which depicts first the emperor prostrated and humble, then the emperor heading to Jerusalem, holding the Cross. Ch. Maranci points out that the relief from Mren is probably the earliest depiction preserved of this scene. She follows other scholars in admitting that the Latin text derives from a lost Byzantine source²⁰, and plausibly asserts that this source could have served Armenian artists as well.

Both reliefs, from Mren and Kolb, depict the scene of the Restitution of the True Cross and both place Heraclius in the center by the Cross as the main acting figure. As for the scale, Ch. Maranci rightly notes that the diminished size of the figure of the emperor marks his submission. While depicting a “small” emperor would have not been admissible in

¹⁶ L. Azaryan (cited n. 6), p. 43, speaks of only two figures in Kolb, which is probably due to the fact that he knew this poorly preserved relief only from photographs. Our own examination of the relief from Kolb in August, 2009 confirmed the existence of three figures.

¹⁷ T. T'oramanian *Հյուսիսային հայկական հարտարապետության պատմության* (Materials on the History of Armenian Architecture), Erévan, 1948, p. 189.

¹⁸ Ch. Maranci, “The Humble Heraclius: revisiting the north portal at Mren”, *REArm* n. s. 31, 2009, p. 359-372.

¹⁹ Ch. Maranci (cited n. 18), p. 360-361.

²⁰ W. Brandes, “Heraclius between Restoration and Reform: Some Remarks on Recent Research”, *The Reign of Heraclius: Crisis and Confrontation*, eds. G. Reinink, B. Stolte. Louvain, Paris and Dudley, MA, 2002, p. 9-336, see p. 36; S. Borgehammar, “Heraclius Learns Humility: Two Early Latin Accounts Composed for the Celebration of *Exaltatio Crucis*”, *Millennium: Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.*, 6, 2009, p. 145-201, see p. 159-160.

Byzantine art, such a device was not inconceivable in the symbolic thinking of an Oriental master.

Unlike in the Western miniature, where the emperor is accompanied by a large suite, each Armenian relief features only two additional figures. These two (rather poorly preserved) figures at Kołb and especially the figure on the left at Mren (as pointed out by N. Marr, who visited the site²¹) have a turban-like headwear, which bespeaks their Oriental origin²². These and other peculiarities of the two monuments may suggest that the characters accompanying the emperor are connected with Armenian realia²³. The fact that now we already know of two reliefs with analogous compositions on the territory of historical Armenia bespeak not a random character of representation but a prevalent iconographic tradition. Such confidence is fortified if we look into a very famous event of general and Armenian history.

When the Persians captured Jerusalem in 614, the Christians lost their most important relic, the True Cross²⁴. The war between Byzantium and Persia thus acquired a universal Christian significance as a struggle for the return of the Holy Cross. What is more, it concerned Armenia directly, taking place on its territory and involving Armenian troops²⁵. Armenian traditions describe the solemn procession of the restitution of the Cross, accompanied by holy liturgies in churches, traversing Armenia²⁶, before it came to a triumphant close in Jerusalem in 630. This solemn restitution

²¹ N. Marr, *Anu* (Ani). Leningrad-Moscow, 1934, p. 60, réf. 198.

²² A turban-like headdress was worn by Armenian Bagratuni, imitated by the Georgian branch of the dynasty (S. Der Nersessian (cited n. 5), fig. 73; I. Orbeli (cited n. 2), pl. 15; W. Djobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klarjet'i, and Savset'i*, Stuttgart, 1992, fig. 83. Some 11th-century Cappadocian rulers wore a similar headwear, see N. Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*. Brepols, 2002, p. 5-315, see p. 189-190, sch. 71, 72.

²³ The emperors were depicted as riders in Byzantium (this made N. Thierry [1997, p. 167] consider the Mren figure on the left as a repetitive depiction of Heraclius). In medieval Armenian tradition, the figure thus represented is always a ruling prince (Z. Hakobyan, “Հեծյալի կերպարը միջնադարյան Հայ արվեստում: Հայ-պարսկական պատկերազրական անչափանների խնդիրը (The Image of Horsemen in Medieval Armenian Art. The Problem of Armenian-Persian Iconographical connections)”, *The First International Armenology and Iranology Conference*, Isfahan, 2008, p. 1-12, see p. 8-9.

²⁴ N. Marr, “Антиох Стратиг.Пленение Иерусалима персами в 614 г. Тексты и разыскания по армяно-грузинской филологии, кн. IX (Antiochus Strategos. The captivity of Jerusalem by Persians in 614. Texts and Researches in Armenian-Georgian Philology, t. IX)”, *Bulletin on Theology*, 3/11, 1909, p. 3-74.

²⁵ Պատմութիւն Սեբէոսի (The History of Sebeos), introd. and notes by G. V. Abgaryan, Erévan, 1979, p. 3-446, see p. 132-133; Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն (The History of Armenia), vol. 2. Erévan, 1984, p. 7-691, see p. 300-302.

²⁶ *The History of Armenia* (cited n. 25), p. 296-301.

as well as the route taken by the emperor Heraclius in Armenia²⁷ gave rise to nearly twenty different legends about the True Cross, including the tales of Hatsewn Cross, T'sitsarn Cross, Aparan Cross, etc²⁸. Numerous churches and monasteries named after the True Cross appear in Armenia (X'akavank, X'apayt, Surb Nshan) and the whole of Transcaucasia (e.g. at Djvari, i.e. the True Cross church in Mtsx'heta dates not early than 641²⁹)³⁰. The church at Zaranja in Šhirak (first half of the 7th century)³¹ and the original, no longer extant church at Kołb were also built straight after the victory of Byzantium. The foundation of churches at T'sop in the district of T'sopapor in Gougark region as well as in Amida is attributed to Heraclius himself³². Emperor Heraclius is also mentioned in dedicatory inscriptions of the churches at Mren (639-640), Alaman and Bagavan (639)³³. Thus, the events of the Byzantine-Persian war and the Restitution of the True Cross were assimilated by the Armenian people as part of their own history and have left a vivid trace in the culture.

Turning back to the analysis of the slabs at Mren and Kołb an attempt will be made to answer the question whether the personalities accompanying Heraclius can be identified and plausibly linked to the Armenia history.

²⁷ H. Manadyan, *Маршруты персидских походов императора Ираклия* (The Rout of Persian Campaigns of Emperor Heraclius), *Vizantiiski Vremennik* 3, 1950, p. 133-153, see p. 153.

²⁸ A. Sahakyan, “Պատմություն Հայոցնյայ խաչի” զրույրը և նրա տիպաբանությունը (The Story of Hatsun's Cross and its typology)”, *Patma-Banasirakan Handēs* 4, 1981, p. 151-166, see p. 154-155; A. Sahakyan “Հայոցնյայ անվալեր պատմությունը և նրա բանավոր տարբերակը (Hatsun's Cross and it's Verbal Narratives)”, *Patma-Banasirakan Handēs* 3, 1982, p. 135-143, see p. 135-139; L. Jones, “Medieval Armenian Identity and Relics of the True Cross (9th -11th Centuries)”, *JSAS* 12, 2001-2002, p. 43-53, see p. 45-51.

²⁹ A. Ghazaryan (cited n. 1), p. 33-34. Some specialists propose an earlier dating for Djvari, yet the Georgian chronicle states explicitly that this church was built after Heraclius' victory, *ქართლის ცხოვრება. თბ.*, 2008. გვ. 231 (The History of K'artly), Tbilisi, 2008, p. 3-828, see p. 231, and the composition of the Ascension of the Cross on the tympanum of its southern portal clearly relates to this event.

³⁰ Yovhan Mamikonyan, *Տարոնի պատմություն* (The Story of Taron), trans., introd. and notes by V. Vardanyan, Erévan, 1989, p. 3-175, see p. 109-111; A. Sahakyan (cited n. 28), p. 135, 138, 141, ref. 13, 142.

³¹ A. Ghazaryan, “Ротонда Воскресения и иконография раннесредневековых храмов Армении (Rotunda Anastasis and Iconography of Early Medieval Churches of Armenia)”, *East-Christian Church. Liturgy and Art*, éd. By A. Lidov, S.-Petersburg, 1994, p. 107-117, see p. 112-113.

³² See S. Eremyan, “Заметки к тексту ‘Хроника Сумбата’ (Notes to the ‘Smbat's Chronicle’)”, *News on Armenian Social Sciences*, 9/14, 1941, p. 27-30, see p. 28-29, and H. Manadyan (cited n. 27), p. 133-153, p. 153, n. 72, respectively.

³³ I. Orbeli (cited n. 2), p. 371-404, see p. 395-401.

In her interpretation of Mren relief, N. Thierry asserts that the emperor is depicted twice — once in the center, as the figure raising the Cross, and then again on the left. The figure on the right is identified as Modestos, the patriarch of Jerusalem³⁴. Ch. Maranci follows some Armenian scholars³⁵ in identifying the secular figure on the left as David Saharuni, the chief founder of the church who, according to the historian Yovhannēs Drasxanakērtc'i, constructed it on the order of the emperor himself³⁶. She identifies the other figure, with the censer in hand, as bishop T'ēovp'īlos, another founder of the church, indicating that both noblemen are also depicted on the western tympanum of the church. This argument, however, could only hold if we disposed of the one relief only, at Mren. The existence of the relief composition at Kołb, however, changes the perspective and widens the context of interpretation.

Our conviction is that the persons accompanying the emperor at Mren and at Kołb embody the notion of secular and ecclesiastical authority in Armenia as represented by concrete historical figures — the pre-eminent prince and the catholicos. One of them was, indeed, David Saharuni, not in his capacity of a church founder but rather as ruler of the country and vicar of the Byzantine emperor in Armenia endowed with the high dignity of *kourapalates*³⁷. Syrian sources mention a commander named David, who fought for Heraclius and helped in finding the True Cross at a palace in Ctesiphon³⁸; some scholars identify him as Dawit' Saharuni³⁹. The other figure must have been catholicos Yezr, appointed by Heraclius as the head of the Armenian Church in 630, the year of the restitution of the True Cross. Moreover, according to historians, Catholicos Yezr made his

³⁴ J.-M. et N. Thierry (cited n. 3), p. 43-77, see p. 76; N. Thierry, "Héraclius et la vraie Croix en Arménie", *From Byzantium to Iran. Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina G. Garsoïan*, eds. Jean-Pierre Mahé and Robert W. Thomson, Atlanta, GA, 1997, p. 169-171.

³⁵ M. Sargsyan (cited n. 5), p. 245-250.

³⁶ Yovhannēs Drasxanakērtc'i, *Պատմութիւն Հայոց* (The History of Armenia), Tiflis, 1912, p. 7-427, see p. 80.

³⁷ Stephanos Taronac'i, *Պատմութիւն* (The History), S.-Perersburg 1885, p. 5-438, see p. 86; Sebeos (cited n. 25), p. 3-446, see p. 133; A. Ter-Ghevondyan, *Հայոց իւշխան տիկապոսի ծագումը և Հայոց տերութիւնը VII դարում* (The Origin of the Title of Armenian Prince and Armenian Land in 7th Century), *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* 1, 1969, p. 241-247, see p. 245-247.

³⁸ J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, II, [Paris, 1901], Bruxelles 1963, see p. 427; *Histoire Nestorienne. Chronique de Séert*, t. II, Turnhout, 1973, see p. 556.

³⁹ A. N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, t. 1, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 3-203, see p. 246-248, 252-253; C. Mango, "Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse Sassanide" et "Héraclius, Šahravazar et la Vraie Croix" // *Travaux et mémoires* IX, 1985, p. 91-117, see p. 91-118, 105-117.

communion with the emperor in the Greek rite in Karin cathedral (633), i.e. he adopted Chalcedonian belief (orthodoxy), and in honor of this event the church of /Սբ. Միսրան/ Holy Consilium was founded at this site⁴⁰.

Joint depiction of the Byzantine emperor and the Armenian dignitaries was possible only in case of full convergence of political and religious interests of the two countries (political autonomy and flourishing of an Armenian-Chalcedonian Church)⁴¹. Heraclius' ethnic background may have played a role here as well⁴². Soon after the events, bishop Sebeos represents Heraclius as an ideal hero, bringing him closer to the Armenian world and recognizing him as supreme ruler of the Armenian land⁴³. The idealized image of the emperor Heraclius became part of both Byzantine and Armenian political ideology, forging a new historical reality. The short gap of time between Heraclius' victory over Persia and the first Arab invasions of Armenia in 640 witnesses the first flowering of the country, which becomes an integrated political formation, and inaugurates the so-called "Byzantine era" in the historical and cultural development of Armenia, terminated by the Arab occupation of the late seventh century⁴⁴.

To sum up the information above, in Mren and Kolb reliefs we possess a composition with original iconography of local origin. An event of enormous significance for all Christians — the restitution of the True Cross — is here apprehended in the Armenian historical context. In composition and iconography, the reliefs are based, nevertheless, on Christian iconographic traditions heralding and glorifying the triumphant Cross.

⁴⁰ Sebeos (cited n. 24), p. 102; V. K. Iskanyan, Հայ բյուզանդական հարաբերությունները IV-VII դդ (Armenian-Byzantine Relations in 4th – 7th cc.), Erévan, 1991, pp. 3-638, see p. 445-450; V. A. Arut'unova-Fidanyan, *Повествование о делах армянских. VII в. Источники времени* (Narratio de rebus Armeniae. 7th c. The Source and its Epoch). Moscow, 2004, p. 9-272, see p. 86.

⁴¹ E. Danielyan, Армяно-византийские отношения в период заключения армяно-арабского договора (Armenian-Byzantine Relations during Arab Political Conclusion), *Bulletin of Social Sciences* 4, 1988, p. 21-32, see p. 23; V. A. Arut'unova-Fidanyan, "Армения и Византия в VII в.: синтезная контактная зона (Armenia and Byzantium in 7th c.: Synthesis Contact Zone)", *Vizantiiski Vremennik* 61 (86), 2002, p. 58-70; V. A. Arut'unova-Fidanyan (cited n. 40), p. 73.

⁴² D. Kouymjian, "Ethnic Origins and the 'Armenian' Policy of Emperor Heraclius", *REArm* n. s. 17, 1983, p. 635-642, see p. 637-642.

⁴³ Sebeos (cited n. 25), p. 105.

⁴⁴ V. A. Arut'unova-Fidanyan (cited n. 40), p. 72.

The relief compositions at Mren and Kotb propose a bold artistic solution, which fits well with the general trends of Armenian art and architecture flourishing in the 630's-680's. Original artistic concepts fuse compositional types of church buildings⁴⁵, thus contributing to the development of architectural thought in Transcaucasia and of East-Christian architecture in general. Exterior ornamentation of the churches displays original and complex artistry: while bearing characteristic Armenian symbolism, it is also firmly anchored in East-Christian and Early-Byzantine imagery. Zuart'noc⁴⁶, built in 642-662, is a splendid example of that order, brainchild of Yezr's successor, catholicos Nerses the Builder.

⁴⁵ A. Ghazaryan A. “‘Новые Иерусалимы’ в пространственных концепциях и архитектурных формах средневековой Армении (‘New Jerusalem’ in Spatial Concepts and Architectural Forms of Mediaeval Armenia)”, *New Jerusalem. Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, éd. by A. Lidov, Moscow, 2009, p. 520-543, see p. 520-529.

⁴⁶ Z. Накобыан, «Символический образ Небесного Иерусалима в рельефных изображениях Звартноца (The Symbolic Image of the Holy Jerusalem in the sculpture decoration of Zuart'noc)”, *The Art of Christian World*, Moscow, 11, 2009, p. 101-109, see p. 103-107.



Fig. 1. Mren Church, c. 639-640, View from Armenia.



Fig. 2. Mren Church, Western portal.

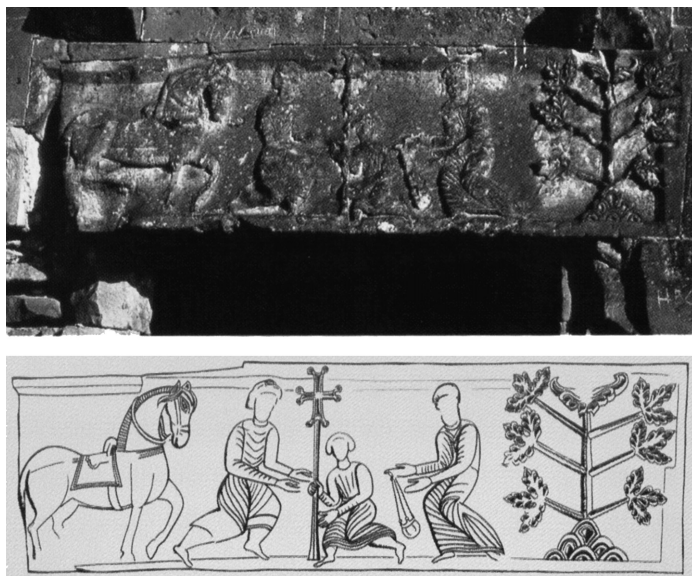


Fig. 3. Mren Church, Northern portal.



Fig. 4. Kolb. The remains of the church of the 13th c.



Fig. 5. Kolb relief, 40-ies of the 7th c.



Fig. 6. Constantinople. A detail of the frieze of the remains of St. Sophia of Theodosius II.



Fig. 7. Heraclius restores the Cross to Jerusalem. Sacramentary of Mont Saint-Michel, 1060, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. Ms. 641, fol. 155v (after B. Baert).



Fig. 8. Mtsx'heta. Southern tympan. Ascention of the Cross. After c. 640.